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WAS IT TREASON?

By our West German Correspondent

Just one year ago, on October 26th 1962, West Germany, always rich in scandals, had its biggest scandal yet. On that date, squads of plain-clothes police, led by former SS Captain Theo Saevecke, raided the Hamburg offices of "Spiegel", West Germany's biggest and most influential weekly news magazine.

During the raid and subsequent round-ups, five top staff members of "Spiegel" were arrested, including editor Rudolf Augstein; almost all the archives of the magazine were impounded by the police.

The West German Government announced that charges of "treason" would be lodged against the journalists because "Spiegel" had printed allegedly secret details of a NATO manoeuvre. Speaking in the West German Parliament immediately after the raids, Chancellor Adenauer described this as "the greatest case of treason in history", and added "this magazine has been committing treason for money".

Today, one year after the Gestapo-style raid on the "Spiegel", the greatest treason case in history has disappeared almost without trace, although a small group of rather disillusioned public prosecutors are still combing their law books trying to find some charge against "Spiegel" which they could make stick. 363 days after the raid, the Federal Attorney General's office announced that it had finally found an un-named expert who would be willing to draw up an "expert memorandum" detailing the alleged acts of treason committed by the news magazine. Previous experts who had been approached to do the job had all turned it down after discovering that there was no trace of a serious case to be presented.

In the meantime, all the journalists arrested have been released without any charges being preferred against them, and 80 % of the seized magazine archives have been returned. Policemen are still sifting the remaining 20 % with the vanishing hope of finding something they can base a case upon.

The real reason for the highly-publicised police raid on "Spiegel" was that the magazine has for some years been a thorn in the flesh of the Bonn Government, exposing a number of scandals, particularly with regard to Defence Minister Franz-Josef Strauss. In the uproar which followed the "Spiegel" raid one year ago, Strauss, who was shown in parliament to have lied repeatedly in connection with the case, was finally forced out of office.

Political observers in Bonn pointed out that the efforts to muzzle or suppress "Spiegel" had failed for the time being, mainly because the news magazine was wealthy and influential, and able to fight back. Foiled in their attempts to ham-string this portion of the press, the West German authorities are now concentrating their fire on smaller papers, such as the progressive weekly "Blinkfüer", at present being prosecuted in a Hamburg court.

(For some details of the "Blinkfüer" case, see Berlin Notebook on the back page of this issue.)

ONE HUNDRED YEARS OF GERMAN HISTORY

(drawing by Elizabeth Shaw)

Bonn "Regrets" Nuclear Space Ban

A West German Government spokesman expressed "regret" on October 17th that the Soviet Union and USA had agreed to ban nuclear weapons in outer space. "The fact that the United Nations have urged all states to adhere to this agreement means that the Soviet Zone (the GDR, ed.) will be able to take part", the spokesman stated. "Under these circumstances the German Federal Republic will have to consider very seriously whether it can adhere to the agreement."

(GERMAN REPORT comments: This latest statement demonstrated very clearly West Germany's almost pathological dislike of any East-West agreement which may help to reduce tension in the world, or even in outer space. Because the GDR might agree to a ban on space weapons, the West German Government opposes a US-Soviet agreement on the subject.)

At the same time, the West German Government was continuing its efforts to sabotage the Moscow Agreement, signed earlier this year, banning most nuclear tests. After delaying its signature to the treaty for many weeks, Bonn finally signed it under the pressure of public opinion, but the signature has not yet been ratified. On October 15th it was announced that the ratification instrument, when it is finally presented to Parliament, will contain a special clause announcing that West Germany is also signing in the name of West Berlin. The GDR Foreign Office recalled that the special territory of West Berlin does not form part of the German Federal Republic, and that the Bonn step could only be regarded as an act of provocation aimed at creating new tensions in the world.

WORKING CLASS VETERAN DIES

Wilhelm Koenen, one of the last surviving links with the German working class movement under the Kaiser, died in Berlin on October 19th at the age of 77. Koenen was well known in Britain, where he played a leading role in the anti-nazi emigration during the Second World War.

He was born in Hamburg in 1886, son of staunch Social Democrats, and himself joined the Social Democratic Party in 1903. He was active in the socialist press, and studied under Rosa Luxemburg at the Social Democratic Party School in Berlin in 1910. During the First World War he was prominent in the anti-war fraction of the Social Democratic Party under Karl Liebknecht, and helped to organise the "end the war" strike in Halle in 1917.

After the overthrow of the Kaiser in 1918, Koenen was elected as Independent Social Democrat to the National Assembly in Weimar. From that date until his death he always held a seat in parliament — from 1920—1933 in the Reichstag, and from 1949 onwards in the People's Chamber of the German Democratic Republic.

In 1920 he was one of the prime movers in the unification of the Independent Social Democratic Party with the young Communist Party of Germany. He first entered the international political field in 1921, when he was in the chair at many of the key sessions of the Third Congress of the Communist International. Lenin nominated him to draft the organisational rules for the international Communist movement.

On February 27th 1933, Wilhelm Koenen left the Reichstag building a few minutes before it was fired by the nazis, and had to flee Germany to avoid arrest. He worked throughout the nazi period in the anti-fascist movement in Czechoslovakia, France and Britain.

Returning to Germany after the war, he was elected to the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party, formed in 1946 by the merging of the Social Democratic Party and the Communist Party in the eastern part of Germany. For some years before his death he was chairman of the Interparliamentary Group of the People's Chamber of the GDR.

Cosmonauts in GDR

Yuri Gagarin, the first man in space, and Valentina Tereshkova, the first woman in space, received a tumultuous reception when they paid a five day visit to the GDR in mid-October. The two cosmonauts were decorated by the GDR Government with the Order of Karl Marx, highest GDR distinction.

Cuba Mail Checked

American intelligence agents in West Germany open and photostat all correspondence between the German Federal Republic and Cuba, the West German news magazine "Spiegel" disclosed on October 23rd. The magazine reproduced a small selection of the letters, ranging from pen-pal correspondence to routine business letters, intercepted and photographed by US agents.

The fact that US intelligence interfered in the foreign mail was confirmed on the same date by an official government spokesman; he stated that this was done under post-war agreements which permitted the western occupation forces to intercept mail and telephone communications "when this is necessary for the security of their military forces".

W. Germans Jail GDR Publisher

A leading GDR publisher, Günter Hofé, was arrested by West German police on October 5th while he was travelling through West Germany on his way to the International Book Fair in Frankfurt/Main.

Up to the date when this issue of GERMAN REPORT went to press, no official announcement had been made as to the reason for the arrest.

The West German official in charge of the case, Federal Attorney Joachim Loesdau, joined Hitler's Storm Troops in 1933, and the Nazi Party in 1937. During the war he served as a judge in Bydgoszcz in nazi-occupied Poland. A nazi testimonial, dated March 13th 1941 states: "Loesdau is a determined supporter of the National Socialist state."

Visitors to GDR

Mr Jack Longden, President of the British Association of Teachers in Technical Institutions, headed a group of British technical educationists who spent a fortnight in the GDR.

Mr Ernest Fernyhough, Labour MP for Jarrow, and Mr Walter Monslow, Labour MP for Barrow-in-Furness, have toured the GDR.

A delegation from Kenya, headed by Dr Julius Gikonyo Kiano, Minister for Trade and Industry, visited the GDR to discuss trade and study GDR industry and agriculture.

Dr Soebroto and Mr Sumartedjo, of the Indonesian Ministry of Culture and Education, visited the GDR to investigate cultural and educational developments.

Trouble on the Autobahn

By the Editor

In the past few weeks, western newspapers have been making great play with allegations that Soviet officials have been interfering with the free passage of western troop detachments between West Germany and West Berlin.

The subject is admittedly a complicated one, and it is scarcely surprising that the average newspaper reader in Britain, the USA and other countries, finds it difficult to understand what is going on.

The basic facts which have to be grasped are these:

1. West Berlin, more by happenstance than anyone's deliberate intention, is an island of capitalism in the midst of the socialist German Democratic Republic. It does not form a part of the West German state, but is an anomalous left-over of the post-war occupation regime for Germany. About 10,000 British, French and US occupation troops are stationed in the city.

2. All lines of communication between West Germany and West Berlin have to pass through or over the territory of the German Democratic Republic. Since 1949 all civilian traffic for the city, by road, rail and water, has been supervised by the frontier guards and customs officials of the German Democratic Republic when it enters the GDR at the West German border and leaves again at the West Berlin border, and vice versa. This civilian traffic, which accounts for well over 95% of the total traffic flow between West Germany and West Berlin, generally moves smoothly, though there have sometimes been minor difficulties mainly arising from the fact that West Berlin and West Germany officially refuse to recognise the existence of the GDR, and thus refuse to conclude normal inter-state agreements governing this very considerable transit traffic.

3. The traffic of the western occupation forces in West Berlin also passes over the roads and railways of the German Democratic Republic, and under normal circumstances would naturally be supervised by GDR officials. This would, however, lead to a "confrontation" between the GDR and the western allies, which refuse to recognise it. In order to avoid such a complication, the GDR agreed on September 20th 1955 that "for the time being" this supervision would be entrusted to Soviet officials. The official GDR statement said: "Control over the movement between the German Federal Republic and West Berlin of military personnel and freight of the French, British and US garrisons stationed in West Berlin will for the time being, until a corresponding agreement has been reached, be implemented by the command of the group of Soviet forces in Germany. The movement of military personnel and freight of the garrisons of the three Western powers in West Berlin will be permitted on the basis of the existing four-power agreements . . ."

4. As a result of this ruling, Soviet officials check western military convoys into and out of the territory of the German Democratic Republic, and recent "incidents" on the Autobahn have been solely in this field.

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That is the background, and at first sight there would appear to be no reason for the incidents which have made headlines. The "existing four-power agreements" mentioned in the official documents might be expected to provide a basis for the solution of any difficulties.

In fact, however, the reference to "existing four-power agreements" is rather misleading; these agreements on communication routes with Berlin were concluded 18 years ago immediately after the end of the war, under completely different conditions, and are very inadequate for dealing with the rather peculiar problem posed by military convoys proceeding through a "non-existent" country.

These four-power agreements were merely short-term working agreements which do not lay down in any detail the ways and means in which this transit military traffic shall be handled. Since there are no proper detailed arrangements, traffic checking is done on the basis of complicated and unclear precedents which have grown up during the past eighteen years.

As "The Times" of London stated in a leading article on October 17th: "The vagueness of arrangements for inspecting military convoys to and from Berlin is an invitation to trouble as well as to genuine misunderstanding."

Recent incidents on the Autobahn appear to have been due solely to this vagueness. This is well illustrated by the higher mathematics of the following report from "The New York Times" of October 14th:

"United States commanders began some years ago to notify the Russians in advance when they might expect a large convoy or one with a large number of troops. The rule of thumb thus developed was that advance notice would be given for any convoy of more than five vehicles, and the passengers of any convoy would get out to let themselves be counted if their number exceeded 30 – excluding drivers and co-drivers. Thus a series of 'customary' rules developed, **but they were never defined to the Russians** (our emphasis, GERMAN REPORT) . . .

"Soviet authorities chose to assume, however, that these were, in fact, rules of the road – though their military commanders and diplomats demonstrated in the latest incident that they were not really sure of the precise practices followed. The Russians argued that the 18-vehicle convoy that caused the trouble this week-end was attempting to 'change the rules' by refusing to allow its 61 soldiers to be counted,

"The United States, however, calculated that the convoy had only 25 passengers, along with 36 drivers and co-drivers . . . Accordingly, it was decided to tell the Russians **for the first** time (our emphasis, GERMAN REPORT) the self-imposed rules governing American conduct on the Autobahn."

For the British side of the picture, study this report from "The Times", London, of October 17th:

"The British procedure, which the Russians have previously accepted, has been that troops should get out only when the number of men is above a certain figure – which is not being disclosed because it is felt it would become a bargaining point for the Russians – or if the number of men in any one vehicle exceeds a certain number."

As will be seen from these quotations, the reason for recent hold-ups on the Autobahn has been the lack of a proper agreement between the authorities concerned.

The actual point at issue in these incidents has been a minor one, but it was sufficient for the big propaganda drums of the cold war to be rolled out, in the US press in particular.

The obvious moral is that the present anomalous situation with regard to West Berlin and its communication routes must be clarified and codified. The GDR and the Soviet Union have made repeated suggestions to this end; it is high time that the western powers, and the West Berlin authorities decide to do their bit to "de-fuse" the West Berlin situation.

ERHARD: More of the Same

Ludwig Erhard, new West German Chancellor, announced in a parliamentary declaration on October 18th that he would continue the reactionary policies of his predecessor Adenauer.

He claimed that his government would work for relaxation in Europe, but added in the same breath: "We shall never agree to any step which would lead to international recognition of the regime in the Soviet-occupied portion of Germany (the GDR, ed.), or to an improvement in its international status.

"People tell us that this is a 'reality' which must be accepted; it is certainly a reality, but a reality which cannot be tolerated, and one which must be abolished," Erhard said.

He stated that the Soviet Union made "monotonous allegations" that West Germany was a militarist state out for conquest; he denied this, but immediately added that it was the aim of his government to reunite Germany "within the frontiers of 1937", that is to say by incorporating large areas of Poland and the Soviet Union.

Erhard expressed his full support for a strengthening of NATO, and for the establishment of a multilateral nuclear force which would give West Germany a finger on the trigger of atomic weapons.

Erhard's New Cabinet

The cabinet formed on October 17th by Ludwig Erhard, the new West German Chancellor, consists of a three party coalition. Here are short notes on the parties involved:

1. CDU (12 cabinet members) – the Christian Democratic Union, roughly equivalent to the British Conservative Party, though generally more to the right. Under retiring Chancellor Adenauer the CDU has dominated West German politics since 1949.

2. CSU (4 cabinet members) – the Christian Social Union, semi-autonomous Bavarian wing of the CDU. On most questions the CSU tends to be rather to the right of the CDU.

3. FDP (5 cabinet members) – the Free Democratic Party, a nominally liberal party consisting of a conglomeration of careerists, junior Wehrmacht officers from World War Two, and businessmen.

West German Cabinet — Full List

Chancellor: Ludwig Erhard, 66, CDU, Professor of Political Economy. Economic research expert during the nazi period. Minister for Economics since 1949 and exponent of the policy of "What is good for big business is good for West Germany".

Deputy Chancellor and Minister for All-German Affairs: Erich Mende, 46, FDP, lawyer. Wehrmacht officer who won the "Knight's Cross" in World War Two. Head of the FDP fraction in the Bundestag since 1957 and MP since 1949.

Minister for Foreign Affairs: Gerhard Schröder, 53, CDU, lawyer. He joined the Nazi Party and the Storm Troops in 1933. MP since 1949. Was Minister of the Interior for eight years before his appointment as Foreign Minister in 1961.

Minister of the Interior: Hermann Höcherl, 51, CSU, lawyer. Public prosecutor and judge in Regensburg during the nazi period, fought as lieutenant in World War Two. MP since 1953 and chairman of the Bavarian CSU parliamentary fraction since 1957.

Minister of Justice: Ewald Bucher, 49, FDP, lawyer. Former member of the Nazi Party, worked as minor nazi legal official and served in the Wehrmacht. MP since 1953, Minister of Justice since 1962.

Minister of Finance: Rolf Dahlgrün, FDP, 55, lawyer. Legal advisor to a large rubber works during the war. MP since 1957 and Minister of Finance since 1962.

Minister of Defence: Kai-Uwe von Hassel, 51, CDU. Plantation manager in Tanganyika from 1935-1939 and officer in the Wehrmacht throughout World War Two. Prime Minister of Schleswig-Holstein from 1954 to 1962, when he replaced Franz-Josef Strauss as Defence Minister.

Minister for Economics: Kurt Schmücker, 44, CDU. Owner of a printing business. Fought in the nazi navy from 1940-1945. MP since 1949 and deputy chairman of the CDU/CSU since 1956.

Minister of Labour: Theodor Blank, 58, CDU. Official of Christian trade unions before Hitler, lieutenant in the Wehrmacht. MP since 1949 and Defence Minister from 1953-1955. Minister of Labour since 1957.

Minister of Posts: Richard Stücklen, 47, CSU. Studied engineering, fought in the Wehrmacht in World War Two. MP since 1949 and Minister of Posts since 1957.

Minister of Agriculture: Werner Schwarz, 63, CDU. Soldier in World War One, then studied agriculture. Official in the nazi farm control organisation during World War Two. MP since 1953 and Minister of Agriculture since 1960.

Minister of Transport: Hans-Christoph Seebohm, 60, CDU. Son of a mine-owner and directed mines and factories under the nazis. Played a part in "Aryanising" Jewish property. MP and Minister of Transport since 1949. Official spokesman of the "Sudeten German Landsmannschaften" which call for annexation of parts of Czechoslovakia.

Minister for Refugees: Hans Krüger, 61, CDU, lawyer. Senior judge in the nazi court of Chojnice in occupied Poland in World War Two. President of the "Association of Refugees" since 1958, and an MP since 1957.

Minister for the Treasury: Werner Dollinger, 45, CSU. Officer in the Wehrmacht from 1943-1945. MP since 1953 and Treasury Minister since 1962.

Minister for Scientific Affairs: Hans Lenz, 56, FDP. Officer in World War Two and holds the Iron Cross 1st and 2nd Class. MP since 1953 and deputy chairman of the FDP since 1960.

Minister for Economic Cooperation: Walter Scheel, 46, FDP. Studied banking, Officer in the Wehrmacht, holds Iron Cross 1st and 2nd class. Owner of "Intermarket", which conducts industrial public opinion polls. MP since 1953 and Minister for Economic Cooperation since 1961.

Minister of Health: Dr Elisabeth Schwarzhaupt, 62, CDU, lawyer. Worked as legal advisor to the Reich Pensioners' Association and to the Evangelical Church Chancellory during the nazi period. MP since 1953. Minister of Health since 1961.

Minister for Upper House Affairs: Alois Niederalt, 53, CSU. Held a minor nazi local government post before the war. Officer in the Wehrmacht. MP since 1953 and Minister for Upper House Affairs since 1962.

Minister for Special Tasks: Heinrich Krone, 68, CDU. Pre-Hitler Reichstag member, he voted in 1933 for the Enabling Laws which gave Hitler dictatorial powers. MP since 1949 and chairman of the CDU/CSU parliamentary fraction since 1955.

Minister for Family Affairs: Bruno Heck, 45, CDU. Officer in the Wehrmacht throughout World War Two. MP since 1957 and Minister for Family Affairs since 1962. Organised the CDU election campaigns in 1953 and 1957.

Minister for Housing: Paul Lücke, 49, CDU. Catholic boy scout leader before he was conscripted in 1935, later Wehrmacht officer. MP since 1949 and Minister for Housing since 1957.

GDR PARLIAMENTARIANS

Men & Women in New People's Chamber

More than eleven million voters went to the polls in the German Democratic Republic on October 20th, when the new People's Chamber and county councils were elected. 99.95% of the valid votes were given to the coalition list of candidates drawn up by the five political parties, the trade unions, and other organisations, which make up the National Front. In the weeks preceding the elections the candidates were introduced, cross-questioned, and sometimes rejected at thousands of meetings all over the country.

* * *

Here are some potted biographies, chosen at random, of men and women elected to the People's Chamber of the GDR on October 20th:

Dr Werner Karwarth, 36, former unskilled worker, now head of a polyclinic in the iron ore mining town of Schwarzenberg, Saxony. He took up voluntary Red Cross work after the war and got the chance to study medicine in Leipzig in 1947. He has been active in communal politics since 1954 and is specially interested in workers' health and social hygiene. Dr. Karwarth, who is a Catholic, is married and has four children. He represents the Christian Democratic Union in the new People's Chamber.

Dr Lieselott Herforth, 47, chemist, worked in a Berlin factory while studying for her doctor's degree in chemistry, which she obtained in 1948. She later worked in the Leipzig Institute for Applied Radio-Activity and was appointed Professor of Chemistry at the Technical College in Leuna in 1957. She became Professor of Nuclear Technology in Dresden Technical University in 1960 and was appointed Director of the Institute of Applied Radio-Active Isotopes there in 1962. She is a member of the Government Education Commission and head of a GDR section in the Council for Economic Mutual Aid. She represents the Socialist Unity Party, which she recently joined.

Dr Tatiana Strobel, 31, medical practitioner in Markkleeberg, near Leipzig. She is married and has two children and is interested in social problems. She represents the National Democratic Party.

Gerhard Bläsing, 42, former farm labourer and son of a forestry worker. When he returned form a POW camp in the Soviet Union in 1949 he started as an unskilled worker in the Magdeburg steel works. Studying in his spare time, he became senior foreman in 1954 and is now deputy director of the works. He is married and has two children. He was first elected to the People's Chamber in 1954 and represents the Socialist Unity Party.

Dr Ernst-Heinz Lemper, 39, Director of the Museum in Görlitz and Chairman of the Dresden Committee for the Preservation of Ancient Monuments. He studied history of art in Leipzig and architecture in Dresden. He represents the Christian Democratic Union.

Rudolf Gucinski, 45, son of a miner, worked in the Mansfeld copper mines before and after the war. He later studied at the Mining Engineers' School in Eisleben, and worked his way up to manager of two combined copper mines. He represents the Christian Democratic Union.

Richard Gebel, 41, son of a bricklayer, learned the trade of a shoemaker and set up a small shoe-making business after the war. In 1958 he organised a shoemakers' and orthopaedic shoemakers' cooperative of which he is chairman. He has been a member of the People's Chamber since 1954 and represents the National Democratic Party.

Kurt Seibt, 55, metalworker. He worked as a builder and stone mason, was active in the communist youth movement in the 1920's and joined the Communist Party in 1931. He was arrested for anti-fascist underground activities in 1939 and sentenced to life imprisonment in 1941. He was liberated by the Red Army at the end of the war. He has been first secretary of the Potsdam district committee of the Socialist Unity Party since 1952 and a Socialist Unity Party member of the People's Chamber since 1950.

Liesbeth Gau, 61, cooperative farmer. She was a farm labourer on the Island of Rügen until the end of the war, received land there in 1948 under the Land Reform Act, and later joined up with others in a farmers' cooperative. She joined the German Peasants' Party in 1951 and has been a member of the Rostock district parliament since 1954. Her special interests are helping women on the land and improving housing and social conditions in the villages.

Arnold Zweig, 76, grand old man of German letters, best known for his anti-militarist novel "The Case of Sergeant Grisha", whose books were burnt by the nazis on their notorious bonfire. He spent the war years in Palestine and returned to Berlin in 1948, where he played a leading part in reviving intellectual life in the GDR. He represents the German League of Culture in the People's Chamber.

Otto Buchwitz, 84, veteran German Socialist, who has been a member of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party since the Social Democrats and Communists amalgamated in 1946. He joined the Social Democratic Party in 1908. During the Weimar Republic he was a Social Democratic member of the Reichstag. Under Hitler he was sentenced to a long term of hard labour. After the war he became chairman of the Social Democratic Party in Saxony and played an important part in the fusion of the two working class parties.

Franz Dahlem, 71, leading German communist veteran who won international fame in 1936 when he helped organise the International Brigades which fought for the Spanish Republic. He was removed from the Politicel Bureau and censured for "politicel blindness" in 1953, and rehabilitated in 1956. He now occupies a senior post in the GDR Ministry of Education. He represents the Socialist Unity Party in the People's Chamber.

Helga Bock, 25, farm labourer's daughter. She left school at fourteen and trained as a laboratory assistant. After working for some time as a laboratory assistant she won a scholarship to a school of engineering, where she studied chemical technology and took her degree in 1959. She worked as a chemical engineer in a hydration works until she was asked in 1962 to go to the new mineral oil combine now being built in Schwedt. She represents the Free German Youth in the People's Chamber.

SIX YEARS OF PROPOSALS FOR GERMAN PEACE POLICY

Ever since the formation of the German Democratic Republic in 1949, the Government of the GDR has made repeated proposals for a peaceful settlement of the German problem.

Here is a summary of some of the proposals made in the past six years, since 1958, both by the GDR and by the Soviet Union. All these proposals have been ignored or rejected by West Germany and the western powers.

September 4th 1958: The GDR Government proposed to Britain, France, the USA and the Soviet Union that they should establish a commission to work out the terms of a peace treaty with Germany. A commission composed of representatives of the two German states should cooperate in this work. The basis of the peace treaty should be that the two German states should leave all military blocks.

November 27th 1958: The Soviet Government proposed that West Berlin, which does not form part of either of the existing German states, should be given the status of a demilitarised Free City. This status would have to be recognised by the Big Four and the two German states, and could be guaranteed by the United Nations.

December 3rd 1958: The People's Chamber of the GDR gave full support to the Soviet proposal for a West Berlin Free City, stating: "The people of West Berlin must be given an opportunity to live and work under peaceful conditions. This dangerous source of war in the centre of Europe must be removed."

January 10th 1959: The Soviet Union published its draft of a possible peace treaty with the two German states, or with a German Confederation. Main points of the draft, which should be discussed by the powers concerned, were:

1. Germany should be neutralised, and the two German states should leave NATO and the Warsaw Pact.

2. Germany should be permitted limited defensive forces, but nuclear weapons, rockets and submarines would be banned.

3. The frontiers of Germany would be those at present existing, and Germany should renounce all claims to the Oder-Neisse territories, the Sudeten area, Alsace-Lorraine, and Austria.

4. Germany should guarantee human rights, with the limitation that the Nazi Party and parties urging frontier revision should be banned.

5. Until the unification of Germany, the two German states should accept as their frontiers the present demarkation line; West Berlin should be a demilitarised Free City.

6. All foreign troops should be withdrawn from Germany within one year of the signature of the peace treaty.

January 21st 1959: The People's Chamber of the GDR endorsed the Soviet proposals for a peace treaty.

January 17th 1959: The GDR defined more clearly previous suggestions for the establishment of a German Confederation. The main suggestions:

1. The supreme organ of the Confederation should be an All-German Council, composed of 50 delegates nominated by the People's Chamber of the GDR, and 50 delegates nominated by the Parliament of the German Federal Republic.

2. The two German states would maintain their sovereignty, and the All-German Council would have only advisory powers.

3. The All-German Council should deal with the following questions, amongst others: A peace treaty with Germany; Trade agreements with foreign states; Membership in international organisations; Agreements on the strength of armed forces in the two German states.

June 19th 1959: The GDR Government proposed to the West German Goverment the conclusion of a non-aggression pact.

Main points of the pact would be:

1. The two German states should refrain from every threat of force or use of force.

2. The two states should respect the territorial integrity and sovereignty of the other.

3. The two states should settle all disagreements by negotiation.

May 11th 1960: The People's Chamber of the GDR urged an interim solution for West Berlin, under which West Berlin would cease to be a centre for espionage and sabotage against the GDR, and western occupation troops would be reduced.

September 15th 1960: The GDR Government, in a memorandum to the United Nations, proposed complete disarmament in both German states. The plan foresaw the following three stages, to be carried out in about four years:

1. The two German states would abjure the use of force, a peace treaty would be concluded, and West Berlin converted into a demilitarised Free City.

2. Both German states would make staged reduction in their armed forces, and all foreign troops would be withdrawn from East and West.

3. All German armed forces in both German states would be totally abolished, and Germany would be neutralised.

July 7th 1961: The People's Chamber of the GDR submitted to the West German Parliament three plans for the solution of the German prob-

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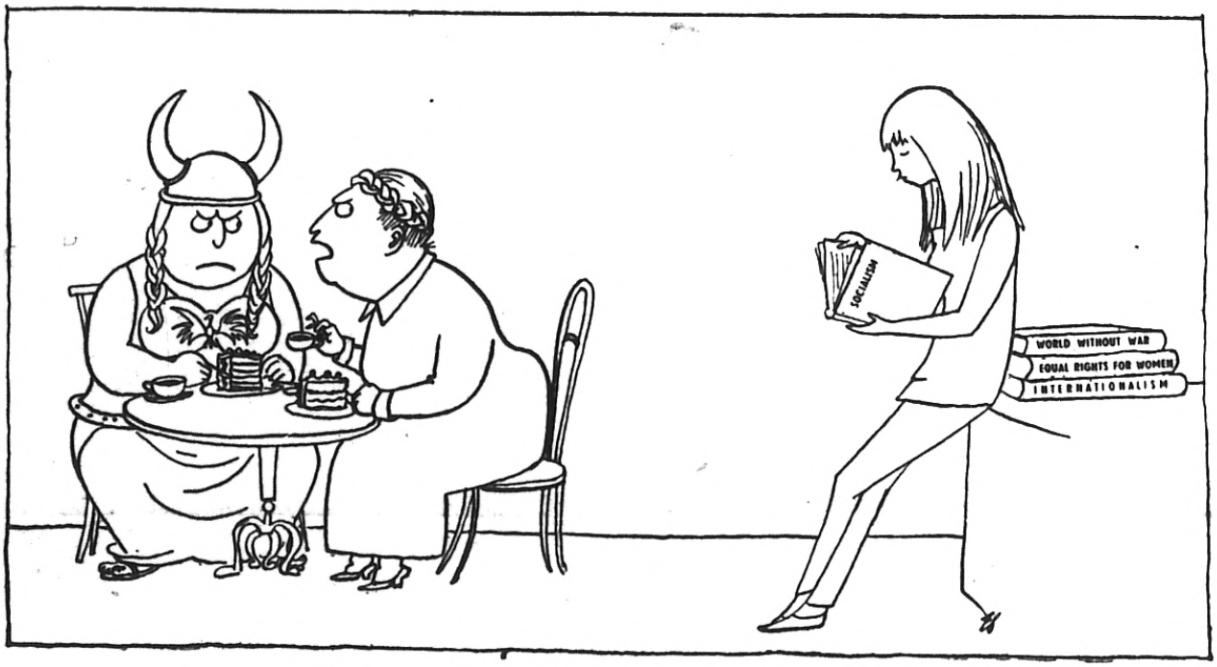

(drawing by Elizabeth Shaw)

"These young people! I tell you, Sieglinde, Germany will be simply unrecognisable in a few years."

lem. These plans, which largely consolidated former proposals, made the following suggestions:

1. The two German states should conclude a "Good Will Treaty" imposing an arms stop and a pledge of non-intervention in the other German state.

2. The two German states should cooperate in drafting proposals for a peace treaty which would neutralise Germany, confirm the present frontiers, and turn West Berlin into a neutral Free City.

3. Following the conclusion of a peace treaty, a German Confederation should be formed between the two states which would extend mutual relations and gradually pave the way for the unification of Germany as a peaceful, neutral and democratic state.

November 30th 1961: The GDR Government proposed to the West German Government a "minimum programme" for peaceful relations. Main points of such a programme would be: mutual respect of sovereignty; renunciation of nuclear arms; support for a NATO-Warsaw-Pact non-aggression treaty; negotiations for proper relations between the two governments.

January 15th 1963: Chairman Ulbricht of the GDR proposed that the two German states should conclude a goodwill pact covering the following points (the West German official attitude to these points is summarised in brackets):

1. Respect for the existence of the other German state, and its political and social system. Renunciation of the use of force in any form.

(West German policy: We refuse to recognise the existence of another German state, or even to contemplate signing any form of agreement with the GDR)

2. Respect for the frontiers of the two German states; renunciation of any attempts to change these frontiers.

(West German policy: We do not recognise either the western or eastern frontiers of the GDR; we claim Germany's frontiers of 1937)

3. Renunciation of nuclear weapons.

(West German policy: "We are determined to participate in the establishment of an effective multilateral NATO nuclear force" — Adenauer, February 6th 1963)

4. Arms stop in both German states, and further agreements on staged disarmament.

(West German policy: "We must increase our defence expenditure by over one thousand million marks" — Adenauer, February 6th 1963)

5. Mutual recognition of passports and citizenship as prerequisite for normalisation of travel.

(West German policy: We do not recognise GDR passports; and shall pressure other states to refuse recognition.

6. Establishment of normal sport and cultural relations.

(West German policy: We shall ban GDR sportsmen and artists, and impose the same policy on all NATO states.)

7. Conclusion of a trade agreement between the governments of the two German states with the aim of expanding trade.

(West German policy: We shall continue to trade with the GDR, but will try to prevent other countries from doing the same.

GDR Statistics

Industrial production in the GDR increased by 37% between 1958 and 1962.

Foreign trade increased from 3,700 million marks in 1950 to 15,000 million marks in 1958. By the end of 1963 imports and exports will reach 20,000 million marks.

50% of GDR foreign trade is with the Soviet Union and another 25% with other socialist countries.

Trade with emergent states increased by 40% between 1958 and 1962.

Exports to capitalist countries (excluding West Germany) increased five times over between 1950 and 1962.

In 1950 the GDR traded with only 10 capitalist countries, in 1962 with about 50.

BERLIN NOTEBOOK

By John Peet

Over the past few years GERMAN REPORT has often reported on West German judges with very nasty nazi records; as a result of world-wide protests many of the judges most deeply implicated in nazi crimes have gone into premature retirement, but by the latest count some 700 of these men who enforced Hitler's murderous laws are still active in the West German courts.

But after writing so much about nazi judges, it comes as a pleasant change to be able to write a few words about a West German judge who apparently was not a nazi criminal. This is Doctor Forester, a senior judge in Frankfurt/Main. He came into the news recently when it was announced that he would preside this December at the trial there of 23 SS guards who are finally, very belatedly, being arraigned for mass murders which they committed in Auschwitz Concentration Camp in the years 1942—44. A few days after it had been announced that Dr Forester would preside, it was officially announced that he had been withdrawn from the case, and that as a result the trial would be postponed once again.

The reason for his withdrawal was that near relations of his had been tortured in concentration camps, and that he might therefore be prejudiced. It is, of course, much more suitable for an old nazi to be given the job of judging old nazis.

Prosecution

As we noted shortly in our last issue, a Hamburg editor, Ernst Aust, is now on trial in West Germany on the charge of "attempting to undermine the Constitution of the German Federal Republic". The prosecution is entirely based upon articles published quite openly and legally in his newspaper "Blinkfüer"; many of the "incriminating articles" cited in the indictment are actually news stories circulated by the semi-official West German news agency DPA, and others are official statements issued by the Soviet Government.

I was glad to see, in the London "Observer" of October 6th, a letter from Bertrand Russell protesting against the prosecution. In his letter Earl Russell stated: "The Germany of Speidel, Heusinger, Globke, Oberländer, Strauss, Gehlen and Schroeder is crushing the few isolated voices of opposition to the chauvinist and neo-Nazi permeation of Western German public life. I consider it a duty to protest against these developments in West Germany. They affront the memory of the victims of the concentration camps and of the entire Nazi era."

The following Sunday, October 13th, Miss Sarah Gainham, a British journalist who lives in Bonn, replied to what she described as Bertrand Russell's "preposterous letter". She seized like a hawk on a couple of very minor mis-spellings in the protest (Bertrand Russell had written "Glöbke" instead of "Globke" and "Oberlander" instead of "Oberländer"), and then went on to show that she might be able to spell, but knew very little about the "Blinkfüer" prosecution.

Her letter has been given considerable currency by publication in the "Observer", so it may be worth examining some of her points, thus demonstrating how ill-informed she is, and what in fact the "Blinkfüer" trial is all about.

1. In his original letter Bertrand Russel said: "Ernst Aust is... accused of publishing declarations of the resistance fighters..."

Miss Gainham commented: „Neither Aust nor anybody else can be 'accused' in Federal Germany of 'publishing declarations of resistance fighters against the Nazis'." The official indictment in the case cites, on p. 27, as relevant evidence against Aust, the fact that his paper published, in issue No. 4, 1960, an official declaration issued by the VVN, by far the largest West German organisation of anti-nazi resistance fighters.

2. Miss Gainham denied the statement made in Bertrand Russell's letter that Aust was accused of criticising the West German armament programme. The official indictment cites, on pp. 107/108, as relevant evidence against Aust, the fact that his paper published (No. 47, 1961) an article stating: "In Bonn they would be more ready to recognise the man in the moon than a zone of military neutrality in central Europe. Such a concrete step to peace and detente would destroy their entire military-political concept."

3. Miss Gainham states: "It is not illegal in Germany to oppose the draft Emergency Powers Law..." The official indictment cites, on pp. 114/115, as relevant evidence against Aust, the fact that his paper published (No. 4, 1960) an article stating: "In reality this law is nothing less than a coup d'etat directed against the workers, the German people, and the people of the world."

And to leave Miss Gainham for a moment, other interesting charges made in this curious indictment are that "Blinkfüer" reported on the proceedings of the 22nd Congress of the Soviet Communist Party (indictment pp. 85/87), and that the newspaper "continually attacked the Federal Government and in particular the Federal Chancellor" (indictment p. 98).

At the end of her querulous letter, Miss Gainham states: "Lord Russell should bone up on his facts and dates". She herself would appear to have neglected to do her homework.

(Footnote: To relieve the agony of studious readers consulting dictionaries to find "Blinkfüer" and not finding it, I should explain that this is a Low German dialect version of "Blinkfeuer", which means the winking light of a lighthouse or buoy.)

"Neutral"

I cannot find the reference, but I seem to remember that John Forster Dulles, US Secretary of State, once made a classic statement that he only regarded neutral states as really neutral if they were neutral on the side of the United States.

West Berlin propagandists seem to feel the same way. The West Berlin broadcasting station "Free Berlin" worked itself into a fury on October 22nd about Mrs Sirima Bandaranaike, Prime Minister of Ceylon. "This lady, who is responsible for the government of Ceylon... is in favour of a solution of the German problem on the basis of the recognition of the existence of two German states" the radio stated in a commentary. "This is a very partisan statement for a country which describes itself as 'outside the power blocks', and also sometimes neutral".

Which means quite clearly that you are only really neutral if you support the curious West German theory that the Bonn state is the only Germany, and that the German Democratic Republic is a completely blank space on the map.

This is a particularly odd theory coming from a West Berliner, who only has to go about ten miles in any direction before he reaches the frontier of the German Democratic Republic, which is very definitely there, however much he may dislike it.

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